

Message Text

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63

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAJ-01 EB-07 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /083 W

----- 049110

R 171230Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2284

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 15292

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINS, IN

SUBJECT: THE EMERGENCY AND THE COMMUNIST LEFT

1. THE EMERGENCY HAS COMPLICATED THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF THE COMMUNIST "LEFT" PARTIES IN INDIA; HOWEVER, IT HAS NOT SIGNIFICANTLY ALERTED THEIR BASIC POLICIES. IN JULY, THE GOI OUTLAWED TEN "NAXALITE" (OR COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA-MARXIST/LENINIST) SPLINTER GROUPS THAT WERE ALREADY OPERATING UNDERGROUND, MOSTLY IN WEST BENGAL, BIHAR AND ANDHRA PRADESH. THE RATIONALE AND NATURE OF MRS. GANDHI'S "ALLIANCE" WITH THE PRO-SOVIET CONGRESS PARTY OF INDIA (CPI) REMAIN BASICALLY UNCHANGED, DESPITE THE GOI'S REINFORCED DRIFT TOWARD "PRAGMATIC" ORIENTED ECONOMIC POLICIES AND RECENT STEPS TO BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. THE CPI HAS GENERALLY SUPPORTED MRS. GANDHI'S CLAMPDOWN, WHILE EXPRESSING SOME CONCERN THAT GOI REPRESSION MAY INHIBIT ITS MANEUVERABILITY. THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE CONCERNED BY SOME OF THE SAME POLICY TRENDS SINCE THE EMERGENCY THAT HAV WORRIED THE CPI. WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, IF THE CPI'S PAYUSTER WILL ALLOW CPI CRITICISM OF MRS. GANDHI'S

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POLICIES TO GO VERY FAR, GIVEN THE LARGER ISSUES AT STAKE IN

INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS. OVER THE UPCOMING MONTHS, THE CPI WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK TO EMBARRASS INDO-US RELATIONS, HIGHLIGHT ITS "COMMON GROUND" WITH MRS. GANDHI ON PRO-THIRD WORLD AND SOVIET-INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS, "REDISTRIBUTION" ECONOMICS AND ANTI-BUSINESS POLITICS. IT WILL ATTEMPT TO MAINTAIN OR STRENGTHEN ITS INDIGENOUS POLITICAL AND LABOR SUPPORT THROUGH THE CONGRESS "ALLIANCE" TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE. MRS. GANDHI WILL SEEK TO RETAIN THE BENEFITS OF THE "ALLIANCE" (ABOVE ALL, TO PREVENT A UNIFICATION OF THE COMMUNIST "LEFT"), BUT WILL IGNORE IN PRACTICE CPI EFFORTS TO REVERSE HER ECONOMIC POLICIES OR CONGRESS MOVES TO UNDERCUT CPI INFLUENCE IN KEY LABOR SECTORS. TOWARD THE CPM, THE PRIME MINISTER AND HER ADVISORS HAVE ADOPTED A POLICY OF "SELECTIVE REPRESSION," IMPRISONING OR INTIMIDATING YOUNGER MORE RADICAL MIDDLE AND LOWER LEVEL LEADERS BUT NOT THE AGING CPM "ESTABLISHMENT." THIS HAS FACED THE CPM LEADERSHIP WITH THE DILEMMA OF HOW TO ACCOMMODATE TO LOWER LEVEL PARTY PRESSURES TO CONFRONT THE GOI WHILE AVOIDING ACTION THAT WOULD INVITE THE FULL FORCE OF THE GOI INTELLIGENCE/SECURITY APPARATUS. MRS. GANDHI MAY BE CONTENT TO LIMIT REPRESSION TO A LEVEL THAT WILL NURTURE CPM DISSENSION BUT NOT PRECIPITATE A SPLIT. A COMPLETE BREAK COULD IN THE LONG RUN DRIVE THE RADICAL WING OF THE PARTY TOWARD UNDERGROUND TERRORIST ACTIVITY IN CERTAIN PARTS OF INDIA. WHILE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE CONVINCED THAT THEY ARE EQUIPPED TO CRUSH SUCH ACTIVITY, THEY WOULD STILL PREFER TO AVOID THE COST, EFFORT AND POSSIBLE DISRUPTION THIS WOULD ENTAIL, PARTICULARLY IN STRATEGICALLY PLACED AND ECONOMICALLY TROUBLED EASTERN INDIA.

2. THE ABOVE IS THE SUMMARY OF AN AIRGRAM PREPARED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE CONGENS THAT HAS BEEN POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT.
SAXBE

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